

Survey Questions Overview

November 30, 2022

Need for Chaos (Study 1, 3, 4, 5, 6): To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree; 977 = Not willing to answer).

- I get a kick when natural disasters strike in foreign countries
- I fantasize about a natural disaster wiping out most of humanity such that a small group of people can start all over
- I think society should be burned to the ground
- When I think about our political and social institutions, I cannot help thinking “just let them all burn”
- We cannot fix the problems in our social institutions, we need to tear them down and start over
- I need chaos around me - it is too boring if nothing is going on
- Sometimes I just feel like destroying beautiful things

Need for Chaos-Revised (used in Study 2, 7, 8): To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree; 977 = Not willing to answer).

- I get a kick when natural disasters strike in foreign countries
- I fantasize about a natural disaster wiping out most of humanity such that a small group of people can start all over
- I think society should be burned to the ground
- When I think about our political and social institutions, I cannot help thinking “just let them all burn”
- We cannot fix the problems in our social institutions, we need to tear them down and start over
- I need chaos around me - it is too boring if nothing is going on
- Sometimes I just feel like destroying beautiful things
- We need to uphold order by doing what is right, not what is wrong (R)
- It’s better to live in a society where there is order and clear rules than one where anything goes (R)

Hostile Political Rumors (used in Study 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6): It is possible to find many different stories on the Internet. Some of the stories are true and others are not. Our next questions concern a number of news story headlines that you may find on the Internet. For each headline, we would like you to consider the following statements. (**Statement I:** “I think the story is true”; **Statement II:** “I might share the story on a social media platform (e.g., Facebook, Twitter),” 1 = Strongly

Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree. **DEM** = Rumors targeting Democrats, **REP** = Rumors targeting Republicans)¹:

Rumors used in Study 1, 5

- Former President Barack Obama was born outside of the United States (DEM)
- The Democratic Health Care Law passed in 2010 authorized the use of death panels to make end-of-life decisions for people on Medicare (DEM)
- High-profile Democratic members of Congress want to cut benefits for veterans by \$2.6 billion to give the money to Syrian refugees (DEM)
- Former President Obama has been creating a “shadow-government” through his nongovernment organization Organizing for Action to take down President Trump (DEM)
- Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton’s approval of a deal to transfer U.S. uranium deposits to a Russian company was a quid pro quo exchange for donations to the Clinton Foundation (DEM)
- Individuals within the US government, including former president George W. Bush, had knowledge of the 9/11 terrorist attacks before they occurred (REP)
- The US invasion of Iraq was not part of a campaign to fight terrorism, but was driven by oil companies in the US and Israel (REP)
- The federal government intentionally breached flood levees in New Orleans during Hurricane Katrina so that poor neighborhoods would be flooded and middle-class neighborhoods would be spared (REP)
- Under the Republican tax bill passed in December 2017, Medicare will stop covering cancer treatment (REP)
- In a number of recent U.S. Senate elections, Republicans have had illegal voters bused into their home states in order to swing the election in their favor (REP)

Rumors used in Study 2, 3, 4, 6

- Evidence Shows that Obama was Born in Kenya (DEM)
- Obama Trying to Take Down President Trump through a Shadow Government He Created as President (DEM)

¹In Study 5, respondents were asked: (1) “I think the story is false” and (2) “I would never share the story on a social media platform (e.g., Facebook, Twitter).”

- Hillary Clinton Approved Deal to Transfer US Uranium Deposits to Russian Company for Donations to Clinton Foundation (DEM)
- President Bush Invaded Iraq to Please Oil Companies and Israel, Used 9/11 as a Pretext (REP)
- Republican Tax Bill Passed in December Stops Medicare from Covering Cancer Treatment (REP)
- Republican National Committee Paid People to Vote Illegally in US Senate Elections (REP)

Partisanship (used in Study 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8): We used the familiar two-step branching measure from the American National Election Studies to measure partisanship. The final measure was coded 0 for respondents identifying with the Republican Party or leaning towards the Republicans and 1 for respondents identifying with the Democratic Party Democrats or leaning that direction.

Intro: Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a...

- <1> Republican
- <2> Democrat
- <3> Independent
- <4> Other
- <5> Don't know
- <6> Would rather not say

If <1>: Would you call yourself a...

- <1> Strong Republican
- <2> Not very strong Republican
- <3> Don't know
- <4> Would rather not say

If <2>: Would you call yourself a...

- <1> Strong Democrat
- <2> Not very strong Democrat
- <3> Don't know
- <4> Would rather not say

If <3>, <4>, or <5>: Do you think of yourself as closer to the...

- <1> Republican Party

- <2> Democratic Party
- <3> Neither party
- <4> Would rather not say

Political Violence Intentions (used in Study 1, 3, 5): In this section, you are presented with a series of possible actions that you can carry out to promote your group’s political rights and interests. By “your group,” we mean the political, religious, or social group that you identify with the most. To what extent do you disagree or agree with the following statements? (1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree; 977 = Not willing to answer)

- I would participate in a public protest against oppression of my group even if I thought the protest might turn violent
- I would attack police or security forces if I saw them beating members of my group
- I would encourage others to join violent protests against oppression of my group, even if I knew it was illegal
- I would go to war to protect the rights of my group
- I would retaliate against members of a group that had attacked my group, even if I couldn’t be sure I was retaliating against the guilty party.

Motivations for sharing hostile political rumors (used in Study 4): Participants read a list with five rumors targeting Democrats and a list with five rumors targeting Republicans. The rumors on both lists were from Study 1. The two lists were presented to the participants in a random order. For each list, participants were then asked to choose which rumor they would be most likely to share on social media (they also had the option of not sharing any of the rumors). For each of the two rumors they chose, they were then asked a series of questions:

Q1a-d: Please indicate how accurately each of the statements below describe your motivations for sharing this particular news story (Response: 1 = Very inaccurate; 7 = Very accurate)

- This story would be the most useful story for mobilizing people against political groups that I oppose (*mobilize*)
- This story was the story that I believe comes closest to the truth of the different stories (*true*)
- This story was the story that I believe my network would find most amusing (*amuse*)
- This story contains the most important consequences, if it happens to be true (*consequences*)

Loneliness (used in Study 6): How often do you feel that the following statements apply to

you? (Response: 1 = Never; 2 = Rarely; 3 = Sometimes; 4 = Always)

- I lack companionship.
- There is no one I can turn to.
- I feel left out.
- I feel isolated from others.
- I can find companionship when I want it.
- I am unhappy being so withdrawn.
- People are around me, but not with me.

Perceived Social Status (used in Study 6): Think of a ladder with 10 steps representing where people stand in your country. At step 10 are people who are the best off - those who have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs. At step 1 are the people who are worst off - those who have the least money, least education, and the least respected jobs or no job. Where would you place yourself on this ladder? (Response: Step 1 = Bottom of ladder; Step 10 = Top of ladder)

Hawk-dove game (used in Study 6): Respondents read the following text:

“We want to investigate how people make economic decisions. Especially, we want to explore how economic choices are made between people who don’t know each other. Therefore, you are asked to carefully read the text below. Your choice can potentially be translated into real money that will be paid to you and a fellow participant.

In this part of the survey you are randomly paired with another participant. You will not get to know who this other participant is, and, likewise, the other participant will not get to know who you are.

Imagine that both of you receive \$50. This money belongs to each of you, respectively. But you can attempt to claim some of the money of the other participant. The same applies to the other participant. He or she can also attempt to claim some of your money.

Hence, you have two possibilities:

Possibility A: You decide to leave the other participant alone and do not claim the player’s money.

Possibility B: You decide to claim the other participant’s money.

The actual outcome will depend jointly on the decisions made by you and the other participant.

If none of you choose to claim each other's money (i.e. you both choose Possibility A), then there will be no change and both of you will receive \$50.

If you choose Possibility A and leave the participant alone but the other participant chooses Possibility B and tries to claim your money, you will lose half of your money. This means that you in the end will receive $1/2 * 50 = 25$. The other participant, in contrast, will get his or her money doubled and will receive $2 * \$50 = \100 .

In reverse, if you choose Possibility B and claim the other participant's money but the other participant chooses to leave you alone, you will double your money. This means that you in the end will receive $2 * \$50 = \100 . The other participant, in contrast, will lose half of his or her money and will receive $1/2 * \$50 = \25 .

Finally, if both you and the other participant choose Possibility B and try to claim each other's money, then both of you will lose all your money. This means that no one receives any money at all.

When the survey is finished, we will randomly draw one pair of participants. These two participants will be paid in accordance with their choices between Possibility A and Possibility B. Your decision will therefore potentially affect the real amount of money that you will receive for participating in this survey. Therefore, consider carefully which possibility you follow!

Which possibility do you choose?"

- Possibility A: I decide not to claim the other participant's \$50.
- Possibility B: I decide to claim the other participant's \$50.

In this game, participants who opted for "Possibility B" are characterized as "hawks" because it is associated with conflict. In contrast, participants are doves if they choose "Possibility A" because it is the conciliatory strategy.

Motivations for sharing hostile political rumors (used in Study 7): Participants read a list with five rumors targeting Democrats and a list the five rumors targeting Republicans. The rumors were all from Study 1. The two lists were presented to the participants in a random order. For each list, participants were then asked to choose which rumor they would be most likely to

share on social media. For the rumor about Democrats [/Republicans], they were then asked how accurately two statements described their motives for sharing the particular rumors (Response: 0 = Very inaccurate; 1 = Very accurate,):

- This story would be the most useful story for mobilizing people against the corrupt Democratic [/Republican] elites.
- This story would be the most useful story for mobilizing against lying Republicans [/Democrats]. It shows what ridiculous stuff they post.

Emotions towards partisan actors (used in Study 7): How strongly do you feel the following emotions when you think about candidates and elected officials [/voters] of the Democratic Party [/Republican Party]? (Response: 1 = Not at all; 6 = Very Strongly)

- Anger
- Disgust
- Anxiety
- Contempt
- Enthusiasm
- Happiness

Abandonment by in-party (used in Study 7): Participants who identified as Democrats [/Republicans] were asked if they disagreed or agreed with four statements (Response: 1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree)

- Voters of the Democratic Party [/Republican Party] care about people like me
- I feel abandoned by the other Democrats [/Republicans]
- I feel that Democratic [/Republican] politicians try to address the problems I have
- I feel I am recognized as an equal by other Democratic [/Republican] voters

Dominance (used in Study 8). Here is a number of statements. Please indicate the extent to which each statement accurately describes you using a scale where “1” means that a statement “not at all” describes you, while “7” means that the statement describes you “very much”. (8 = Don’t know)

- I enjoy having control over others
- I often try to get my own way regardless of what others may want.
- I am willing to use aggressive tactics to get my way.
- I try to control others rather than permit them to control me.

- I do not have a forceful or dominant personality. (R)
- Others know it is better to let me have my way.
- I do not enjoy having authority over other people. (R)
- Some people are afraid of me.

Prestige (used in Study 8). Here is a number of statements. Please indicate the extent to which each statement accurately describes you using a scale where “1” means that a statement “not at all” describes you, while “7” means that the statement describes you “very much”. (8 = Don’t know)

- People I know respect and admire me.
- People I know do not want to be like me. (R)
- I have gained distinction and social prestige among people I know.
- I am held in high esteem by those I know.
- My unique talents and abilities are recognized by others.
- I like to help others.
- Others seek my advice on a variety of matters.
- Others do not enjoy hanging out with me. (R)
- Others do not like to do favors for me or help me. (R)

Status-Driven Risk-Taking (used in Study 6 and 8): How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Response: 1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree)

- I would rather live as an average person in a safe place than live as a rich and powerful person in a dangerous place.
- I would enjoy being a famous and powerful person, even if it meant a high risk of assassination.
- If the pay was really high, I would be willing to work with extremely explosive materials.
- I would risk my life for a good chance of finding a huge amount of buried treasure.
- If I could become rich and famous by winning a major competition, I would put my life on the line to win it.
- I would like to live in a country where people who take huge risks have the chance to gain superior social status.
- No matter how good the pay of "perks"; I would not want to be a spy who takes very dangerous assignments.
- I would rather live a secure life as an ordinary person than risk everything to be "at the top".
- For a very high-status job, I would be willing to live in a place that had an extremely high crime rate.

- I would take a very high-status job even if I had to live in a place where there are many deadly diseases.
- I would volunteer for a risky medical experiment if it paid me enough to retire early.
- Being an organized crime boss would be far too dangerous for me.
- To become a billionaire, I would be willing to trade 10 years from my life expectancy.
- I would not go to a war zone even if the business opportunities were extremely profitable.

Status Concerns (used in Study 8): Here is a number of statements. Please indicate the extent to which each statement accurately describes your feelings using a scale where “1” means that a statement “not at all” describes you, while “11” means that the statement describes you “very much”. Some of the statements refer to “my group”. By your group, we mean the political, religious, or social group that you identify with the most.

- I feel that I am kept back from gaining the place in society I deserve.
- I feel that my group is kept back from gaining the place in society they deserve.
- I feel that my deserved place in society is being taken away from me.
- I feel that my group’s deserved place in society is being taken away from them.

Fear of opposing system (used in Study 8). How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1 = Strongly disagree; 4 = Neither agree nor disagree; 7 = Strongly agree)

- Rebelling against the system can be dangerous for people like me.
- If I take on those in power, I will most likely face punishment.
- For people like me it is costly to engage in political activism.

Age (used in Study 8): What is your age?

- 18-29 years
- 30-44 years
- 45-64 years
- 65+ years

Age (used in Study 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7): What is your age?

- Respondents insert numeric value

Gender (used in all studies): Are you?

- Male
- Female

Education (used in all studies): What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? If currently enrolled, highest degree received.

- No high School
- High school graduate
- Some college
- 2-year
- 4-year
- Post-grad

Household Income (used in Study 3 and 8): What is your total household income?

- Less than \$10,000
- \$10,000 - \$19,999
- \$20,000 - \$29,999
- ...
- \$80,000 - \$99,999
- \$100,000 - \$119,999
- \$120,000 - \$149,999
- \$150,000 - \$199,999
- \$200,000 - \$249,999
- \$250,000 - \$349,999
- \$350,000 - \$499,999
- \$500,000 or more
- Prefer not to say

Ethnicity (used in all studies)

- White
- Black
- Hispanic
- Asian
- Native American
- Two or more races
- Other
- Middle Eastern

Attention Check - Color Test (used in Study 7 and 8): The color test is simple, when asked for your favorite color you must enter the word puce in the text box below. Based on the text you read , what color have you been asked to enter?

- OPEN-ENDED RESPONSE BOX